

# REVIEW.

Saturday, October 11. 1712.

## *I am still on the State of the Protestant Succession.*

**H**E that thinks, when I am Writing for the Security of the *Hanover Succession*, that I am writing against the Ministry, thinks like a Fool; if ever I gave any Reason for people to think I was Employ'd, or directed, or paid by the Ministry, for Writing the *Review*, it must be when I write FOR the *Hanover Succession*; for I look upon the Ministry to be Ruin'd without it.

On what Foundation do the Ministry stand, but that of the *Protestant Succession*? I look upon it to be Originally a Plot of the *Jacobites* upon the Ministry, and upon the Nation too, to suggest the Ministry are for the Pretender; first, that they might bring the People against them, on a supposition of their being Guilty, and then force them to fall in with the Pretender for their own Safety; but it will not do; when this Ministry declares for the Pretender, they must either be driven to some inextricable Labyrinth in their Affairs, or be forsaken of God and their Understanding; it is evident the Ministry can have no prospect of their own Settlement, but in Peace; the universal quiet of their Affairs, is the Security of their Standing; the Steps which they have taken to put an End to the War Abroad, testify, that they are Convinc'd of this Truth; *What had it been to them*, who you had fought with, or how long the War had continued, if their Establishment had been cur'd? As, I doubt, some of us would have been more indifferent, whether the War had gone on, or no, if the View of Overthrowing the Ministry by it, had not been at the Bottom of it; I doubt I speak too much to your Consciences in this: Thus speaking impartially on both Sides, and setting *amor Patrie* aside out of the Dispute; regard but the Interest of Parties, and take a Political View of the Interest and personal Safety of the Ministry, and I do not see upon what Foot you can reckon them to be for the Pretender, but upon that of *felo de se*.

But after I have said this, you must give me leave to tell you very plainly, that the Circumstances of this Nation, and the Temper of the Parties among us,

seem to prepare every Thing for the Pretender, even in spite of the Ministry, and altho' they were ten times more against the Pretender than they are, or can be suppos'd to be, and that so, that a thinking Man cannot, without Concern, say, if you do not alter your Measures, and that very speedily too, it will be impossible to prevent his Party bringing him in upon us.

I confess, I think, the Case of the Ministry very hard, especially if you will grant them, as I do, to be against the Pretender: You say the Ministry are for the Pretender; will you lay your Hands upon your Hearts, now, and from your Consciences answer? Is there any of you that will join with the Ministry against the Pretender? That will strengthen their Hands to keep him out; That can lay aside your Party-Feuds, Prejudices, and enrag'd Dissatisfactions, and come and stand by the Queen, and the Ministry, against the Invasion of a Popish Jacobite Party?

Not a Man of you will answer this directly; Yes, says an honest Whig to me, we would all do it, if we were sure the Ministry were hearty in their Principles, and were sincerely against the Pretender: I tell you, that very IF, will destroy you; for when will that IF receive an Answer, a Satisfactory Answer, but when the Ministry, and you too, shall be swallowed up? Just so the Citizens of Constantinople supply'd their Emperor with Money, to raise Soldiers for the Defence of their City, the Answer was, IF they saw a Necessity: This Necessity they would never be Convinc'd of, till the Turk was at their Gates, and then Money, and Citizens, and Emperor perish'd all together, and so it will be with us, if Heaven prevent not, even by Miracle.

Perhaps I am speaking a Truth that grates too hard, and you will fly in my Face for it, with the usual Reproaches of Writing for the Ministry—I tell you, had God given you Eyes to see yourselves Ruining your Posterity with your own Hands, these Truths had never been necessary to be told: I appeal to Conscience, and



and the Time is at Hand, when it will speak to your Shame, *these Things must be spoken plainly*; look back a little upon Things, *assure yourselves, if you do not, your Posterity will*: You are Angry at the present Ministry, *pray. How came they in?* I affirm it, had it not been for the Divisions of the *Whigs*, under the *Old Ministry*, had it not been for the Breaches between *Old Whig* against *Modern Whig*, against the Earl of *G——in* and the Duke of *M——gb*, the present Turn had never been; and I speak this of my own Knowledge; how much Raillery, how much Virulency were our Mouths and our Pamphlets full of, against the then Treasurer and General, the Earl of *Go——n* and the Duke of *M——b*; I believe none of you will put me to look over the Prints of that Day; I was as much abus'd in Print, and by the same Authors, for defending that *Ministry* then, as I am now, for Writing, *as you call it*, for this; *but I told them then*, the Division would be their undoing, *and so it was*, for at that Breach, the present *Ministry* broke in; And who can blame them for it?

*Just thus it is now*, your whole Application is to Overthrow the present *Ministry*, to distress them at Home, and thwart their Measures Abroad; in hopes to get them down— But who of you have consider'd what the next Step shall be, and who shall break in at the Gap you shall make? *Suppose, for the purpose, whether you will grant it or no*, that the *Ministry* are really against the Pretender's Interest; by pulling them down, do we weaken or strengthen the Opposition to the Pretender? — When the first Breach happened, and this *Ministry* began to act, the Assurance ye had, that they could not carry their Point, could never stand it, or Master the Difficulties they had before them, was the Snare that drew People in, to push at them with such inexpressible Fury: Well, now they see the *Ministry* have stood all those Shocks, and will carry their Point, and now they wish less Opposition had been made, and that Matters had been moderated at first; but now it is gone a farther length, and the *Ministry* have been driven to make use of Hands and Tools, which they never intended, and now we are all anxious about the Pretender, and Reason good, I confess; for if this Breach is kept thus open, the mutual Confidence between Government and People destroy'd, as 'tis apparent is now the Case; pray tell me how shall the Pretender be kept out? Who must keep him out? We pretend we cannot trust the *Ministry* in the Case of the Succession; I confess, the *Ministry* have too much Reason to say,

they cannot trust us; for that we own, if we brou in the House of *Hanover*, we should be very willing to do it over the Bellies of the *Ministry*, and at the Expence.

Let those Men consider this, who are for making Breach between the *Ministry* and the House of *Hanover*, and making their Interests clash, and be inconsistent with one another; let me ask them but one Question, Is this the Way, Gentlemen, to have the *Ministry* join with you against the Pretender? Is it the Way to secure the Succession? For God sake, with some Respect to your Country, and to the Protestant Religion: Have you no Way to bring in a Protestant Successor, but by telling the *Ministry* that shall be destroy'd whenever he comes in? Is this your Way to make the *Ministry* act for the House of *Hanover*? Is this the Way to bring the *Ministry* to against the Pretender? Certainly these are Mad Measures, or else Reason is alter'd from what it used to be.

Unhappy Britain! Who would be a Minister of State? And who would thrust in between the moving Mountains of our Parties? Who ever da must be sure, either to Overthrow them both, or buried in the Ruins, and crush'd to Death by the Weight of them both.

I shall speak more largely to this part; but in mean Time, to those who Question whether the *Ministry* are sincere against the Pretender, I would commend three Things;

1. That they would consider of some Measures the *Ministry* may, with Safety, appear for in the House of *Hanover*, which if the Successor is not more Wisdom and Temper than we have, is evident would be difficult; I shall explain hereafter.
2. That they would consider, how the *Ministry* keep out the Pretender, while mutual Jealousy and Party Fears hinder the People to join with them to Resist him.
3. That they would consider, how easy it is for the Pretender to make his way to the Throne, and without the help of Force; while our Party animosities Contribute every Day to the Encrease of the Number of *Jacobites*, and we neglect getting Ground among the People, as it is possible he does every Day.